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793 nize a priesthood completely separate from civil officialdom; both were mutally dependent. There was a priestly hierarchy, it is true, but it probably operated in conjunction with civil position. Permanent positions may have existed, but in the chapters on religion we shall describe more fully how completely the realms of Church and State coalesced among the people of ancient Mexico, in contrast to the cleavage between them in our own society.

567 Mexican society existed for the benefit of the tribe, and each member was supposed to do his part in preserving the community. However, the bane of working social orders as well as hypothetical social schemes are those unfortunates who, by mischance, maladjustment or just plain deviltry, do not do their part. The Aztecs, too, had this problem to cope with, and there developed a social class of people who had lost their civil rights and become slaves. This they might do voluntarily or because they were prisoners of war or were punished for crimes or were sold by their parents. Their treatment differed according to the circumstances of their enslavement.[a] (See Plate 38, bottom left.)

Military captives usually were sacrificed, but those who [727] demonstrated some unusual skill were sometimes bought for domestic service or put to work on some communal enterprise. Criminal slaves lost their free status for such offenses as failure to denounce treachery, membership in a traitor's family, kidnaping for sale a free man, selling another's property without his consent, theft without restitution when over [672] ten years old or hindering a slave from gaining the sanctuary of a chief's house. Penal slaves were privately owned, usually to make restitution to those whom they had injured.

Voluntary slavery was assumed by the poor and landless

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who needed food, by the indolent who were too lazy to provide for their own support, by gamblers and by prostitutes who wanted finery. Parents often sold a child, to be replaced by a younger one when the first was old enough materially to contribute to the family welfare. Sometimes destitute people offered a bondsman in return for a loan from a more fortunate neighbor. If the bondsman died in service or the master took any property unlawfully the debt was discharged. To avoid this contingency the owner made the slave live at home and perform only personal services. Slavery, except in the case of war prisoners, was not too exacting. A slave could control his family, own property or even have slaves of his own. His children were always born free. What the slave lost was his eligibility for tribal office, which depended, as we have seen, on public service and was negated by his reliance on the bounty of others or his commission of antisocial acts.

An important aspect of the legal code of the Aztecs involved the loss of civil rights as a result of flagrant antisocial acts. In general, custom dictated and regulated human behavior. Membership in the community brought safety and subsistence. To break away or to be cast off meant death at the hands of foes or isolation as a solitary wanderer, a prey to marauding beasts. Competition for rank and renown existed in the field of public service rather than in the acquisition of wealth. Hence the antisocial behavior implicit in attaining many of our own higher grades or ranks was held to a minimum.[8]

Growth of the community to a size where none but the great were known to society at large probably tended to break down the sense of membership and participation, so

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burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

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since that is what man most ardently strives to keep intact. Thus instances of human sacrifices keep cropping up in the world's religious systems, and we preserve in our own culture the concept of martyrdom, achieved by voluntary or involuntary means, as an act of virtue. The very beautiful example of the Saviour transmutes to the highest spiritual plane this idea of sacrifice for the good of humanity.

The Aztecs did not reach this spiritual level, but the symbolism of their sacrifice has, nonetheless, its own barbaric beauty. They reasoned that for man to survive, the gods who permit his existence must also live and wax strong. These gods, however, received their best nutriment from the most precious of offerings, the hearts of men. Thus a vicious circle became established which led to sacrifice on an increasing scale. The gods manifested their favor and their strength to the Aztecs by letting them prosper, but the Aztecs, on their part, had to sacrifice hearts to the gods to maintain their good will. A good part of the tribal prosperity emanated from military success, so that the most acceptable sacrifices were the hearts of adversaries, which were the hardest to acquire since prisoners could not be taken without military victory. A martial success, on the other hand, could only be achieved through the exercise of divine favor. Thus sacrifice led to war and war back to sacrifice, in an unending series of expanding cycles. The effect that this practice had on foreign affairs we shall describe in the next chapter. (See Plate 60, top.)

War captives were the most esteemed offering, and the braver and higher in rank, the more valuable they were. Slaves were killed for minor ceremonies, and in rare instances women and children were slain in fertility rites to ensure growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

row of vendors of implements and tools, such as obsidian blades, carved and burnished pottery, spindle whorls, deer-horn awls, bone bodkins and a few copper axes and needles. A brilliant mass of color characterized the booths of the feather salesmen. Some sold merely bunches of plumes, the lovely green of the quetzal, or trogon, and the multicolored plumage of parrots. At the other stands feather cloaks, mats and shields gave evidence of charming fancy in their design and patient toil in their execution. (See Plates 38–39.)

Jewelers displayed jade ornaments and gold worked into precious rings of filigree or massive beaten gorgets. It was the jade, however, that caught the envious eye and was produced with furtive circumspection as a material of great price. Other merchants sold ornaments of shell, and the pinks, whites and subtle mottled browns of sea shells contrasted with the rich dark sheen of tortoise carapaces. At one booth a rich warrior earnestly bargained with the proprietor for an exquisite pair of earplugs, cunningly inlaid with a mosaic of turquoise and mother-of-pearl.

The smiling whispers and admiring glances of the crowd at the jeweler's abruptly changed in the slave quarters to appraising stares. Some of the chattels wore wooden collars, and their brutish faces had a hopeless expression. These had sunk to servitude long ago as a result of crime or of capture in war. Others were thin and emaciated but did not wear the collar of bondage. They had met with misfortune and were selling themselves for the first time to ensure food and shelter.

A low hum rose from the market place; there was none of the strident shouting of the European fair. The bargaining for goods was carried on slowly, quietly, but, nonetheless,

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, gleaming, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Etzalqualiztli*, the eating of boiled corn,[47] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework; they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plumed necklpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fine prizes came on: to receive her. They strewed aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle heard of the rain and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[48]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. [illegible] temple of the Tlaloc, they opened her breast.

Then Macuilxochitl paid great honors to (the goddess). Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Then they said: "The chief quiereth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they then paid honor to the women.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicome coatl; and to the image of the sun [goddess], named Xiuteuctli. Then they remembered what they had done; then they honored the three.[49]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be satisfied; thus, in truth, might he live.

And then was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[50] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] earplugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the rain-contrivance,[51] which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn iquac ueh chocaz, tlamattinemi, xoxouhtinemi, 776
petlatinemi, cuecuexotinemi,

Auh yn iquac ilhuiquiztiloia, qua no iquac yn omalqua- 796
lanli: yn ueuan ilhuiquiztililoia tlaloque,

[805]

ceceli in quichichioaia yniqui: quicuitoia, quiquiltitoia, [778]
quicuexotoia, cuecuepetlaui, inuh pilcatoiah cuexi: uecuiltecuecuilli:

yeuan quiclamanjlioia, quiteaxaniqui yn itlamamacauh, yiualoli, iapan quiquetzilia,

cuechicauac ilhuiznemi, quicuiyotia in calpolcque, xoxocacuan.

Auh in ual ixipla, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in [567]
quicuia, ixhoac quiquentoia, yn xuamacoque: yn axi yn
motlaiocuitia, yn acalica aclacui, yn acalcque, yn apantlaca: [463]
yeuan acalquetzque tlaquiztoc, in quiquehtitia axi.

No ieh quichichioaia, no ieh quitlamamacaia, no ieh quiyocuaia: ieh tlacotiuja: in miquja, yiocuiocan tlalocan: yn ueuan ioiopan, tlaloque, qualoxoquja.

Ja iquac y, no cuaca quiquauitilloia, yn motecuçuma: iapan tlamamacoia, yn jaiqui, quitlacoxoquja,

ieh quiyoua: quiiaulitlalaui in tlacxel, quitlamacehuja yn jmacaxal: yeuan ueuan mocuillaui, ynic quimalnujtilloia ael:

quiteaxoquja, ca ic tiemj, ca tonoua: yeuan ic mochioa, yn iuquich tenoch monequj.

No ieh quiquauitilloia, yn jaiqui tonacaiel, yn jiuca, chicome coatl; yuã yn jaiqui ixtaxl, yeuca Xiuteuctl: ic quiteaxoquja; yn je tlamanjaxi:

ca ual yeuaca cuchioa in necessalli, ic ual 776
nemj.

Auh yeuja, in cuchichioloia: nexaxaia, tzaxtica, mocuepiloc, nexaxaxaialoc, micacçalhuj, chalchihuicuepa, xiuhcacochia, xexamacaia, quetzalmjauaia, aclacujlolhuiquila, aclacujlolhuiaquila, aclacujlolcuia, aclacuquauchimala, aiachioauh, cacalaca; popolocque.

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47. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 198): "*este mesllí era hecho de maíz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 198): "*el maíz cocido por el cielo llamando pesadilla parece a causa de semejanza con frijol (sic) la llamaron etzalli.*"

48. Corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: ". . . *la fornidahan . . . todos aquellos, que tienen sus granjerias, en el agua como los que venden agua, en las canoas: y los que venden agua, en tiempo, en la plaza. . . .*"

49. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *porque dezian, que estos tres dioses: mantenjan, a la gente popular: para que pudiesen, vivir, y mantenerse.*"

50. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *la pintauan, de azul, con color amarilla, . . .*"

51. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Traia en la mano, derecha, un vaso, con una cosa; hueca a manera, de la cuentalo, en que se lleua el vasso quando van alla la fuente y un cosso cabo, dozze dijan.*" See p. 5, note 44. See also Illustration of Chalchihuitl yeua and Tzapotlan yeuan.

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776
463
484
[418]
[439]

"And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his rubber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had commenced in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cacao, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomezuiuitl, or Chalmecatecutl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they served and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best ones, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Vitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They now show up [like

Auh in necuauil, in pectecuauil, in aixtecli, in aquaujcti, 776
yn aznecaxitl: [439]

intlanel iuuitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, otlan ommo- [292]
yel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioalitzica, in nexitica,
in tlatolitica quintlachocalhuja in chanequa.

Auh intla otlaneçqualtiqua, intla oitoqua: vncan [263
quinpolonijctia, quinchillatilia: çe acx, aço ce, aço vme yn
oc ol tomatilanpa quiça, ihuatl quinalmotzaia in 265]
motecuçoma:

ic vncan quimaca, cequjlia, yepoçmalteteuh, yn [431]
quimaviztitia, ic quimexaintia, in tlacauh, vncan ic [301]
oquichtia. [501]

Auh yn iquac calacia, yuchan: vn jnilioch, yeuecuepal
oquichichiqueh, yn otlalnochacoc, yn otlalnechpachiuhque:
inquich tlacatl quiuetza, in puchteca: yuan in tlanequa, ic
motenitiniaia:

mjtoa, mocxipeca, omoa quimaviztilitia yn inupil, yn 776
jtlacaçia yiacatecutli:

oma in calpulco quiquetzaia: achco quitlamanjlia, yn 796
iquac tetlaqualtia: yuan intlacu . nel motecoconoxca,
quitlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia. [778]

Auh intla aca tealtia, ihuatl caltitia, quimonia in jmuuh
yiacatecutli: anoço ome ixhuatzin yn mochoaia, in
quimotenoltitia in chicomezuiuitl, anoço chalmecatecutl,
yuan acxomocuil, yuan nacxitl, cochimetl, icapitzauac, o'ac
quijcuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço v[illegible], ca aiuic tlacatl:

vmpa cenmaxia yn tlacuecuiloca axcapotzalco: motlab- 776
tlatilia, motlapapatilia, quimcuecuepa, quimjhiuia, yn 796
qualtin quimcuecuepa, yn acax quemanjquc, in tlacatecti, in
tlacamolaoaque, yn acax cuecuepc, yn atle intlachiah ca: 567

ynjc ixhuan quinmictiquc, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn
vncan illuiquetzilitilitia vitzilohuchtli:

yquac quinchichimitia, quintlamamaca, intech quitlalia yn
juhqui yuechichimal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn ixquich quimonjctia, achcopa quintetemitiuia: mjtoa
quimjmatia, ic quimmachitia in tealtiquc:

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104. Cf. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 57): Yuxmolohqui "prepararonse reparandose personas, que iuan viuoas, á Hobilidad, para mejor grangearmenos, á engañar, y a robar, y matar (que es propio condicion de Mercaderes) . . ."

105. Cf. Tobar (Ensayo Relacion, p. 22) citing Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex. B. II §60.

106. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De los ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies, mentions washing of feet and hands.

107. Sahagún defines calpulli as "vjjnicio del barrio, ó parrochia" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the ceremonies in this manner: "Estos dandose que matadoan a estos esclauos."—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Tobar (Collected Works, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicomezuiuitl or Chalmecatecutl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

776
796 goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave fiſts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

[565] And if any were found who were very subtle, among those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food [595] well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

776 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaaltilhoan, iccan, quinequetza: mùch tlaçeilmatli, yn jntech quintlalilia: ipã injtoniaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahtlamj yn jncuje, ynjc momiquinquequloa.

Auh intla aca ciccac, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in ioliimatquj, yn jxe, yn iollo: quiquixtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no iuhquj, intla cioatl, intla tlamachiuhquj, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achioa, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ynac quiça; vellatolmelaoac: no quintiloia, quinnotlacaciocoatiaia in pipilti.

In jnochichioal mocladatladali, mixapetzui, ytemjlo, inquaztro, tzquatzone, quetzallalpile, tzucujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtzilma, tlaçomaztle, tzitzile, oiocale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhquj yn jchimol, ytlacçaia ynac onoc, otlatopile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

776 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

[173] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

776 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
796 washeth and bathetth men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him,
[567] a slave.

Jnic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca catca Napa tecutli.

Jnh mjtoa, ca no intech pouj yn tlaloque: iehoan ynjacoian, incatjan, in calpolloc, quimotitiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech mopoaia:

inh quitoaia, ca iehoatl achto quinnachti, quimititi, in petlachioalitli, yn icpalchioalitli:

iehoatl axcaxa cococaoaia, tlatqujoa, tlanextile, tlatzintila, tlapeoaltile.

Joan inh quitoaia ca iehoatl quinualtia, quiquixtia, in toli in tolpiconac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, atzapili, in tolqujuitl, in tolcaputl, yn jtztoli, xomalí:

yoan yn jquac ilhujuhquiçaia, inh mjtoa, tepapaca, tzaltia, tepan quitzetzeloa, tepan quippixoa, yn aoachili, cenca tlaihtlanjlilo.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan quitoaia, tlacutli, in quimictiaia cexiuhtica:

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110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "esta cabeça era una manta aquel, y sobre el aquel, una red angelc de manera qual aquel, se parege, por las mallas de la red."

111. The *tecalcoliuhqui* also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

[618] 112. *Calpolli*—clan or gens, which composed, probably, of heads of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed the common lands among members (Soler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 85, citing Alonso de Zorita; *Breve sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Soler uses the word "guild" where the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "hagan esteras de juncias: que llaman tohuaztli."

114. *Cf.* Sahagún: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.

They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[115] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpuleque*)[116] exclaimed [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I live not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpuleque*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kindmen.

And in the guild hall, where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up seats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] lodged; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His haircloth, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

quichichioaia, ymac mantinenca, xoxouic, xoxouhqui xicalli: vncan ietiooni axi, vtzotica ic tzatzolbvia. 776 796 567 467

Auh yn iquac ano ilhuiuh, yn çan nemmajan: oc no ce quixiptlaiotinia, quichichioaia:

yn iquac cla acx, petlachiuhqui quinoqui ychan quitotia, quinpielti: vmpa quivicaia, in calpuleque, ipatzallhuiyoh, tzaoachivizuh, inhquin ic quitlanjlioia, ynic quimicnelia.

Yoan inhquin yvic mocuitlascuiztlacoaia: yn açaca ic vnca itlaqui, yaxca:

quitoaia, macamo njcnenqua, macamo njcnenpolo, macamo njcnixcaui, yn nocnelloca: ma onqualo, ma onjoa, ma onpopoliui, ma ic onmjxtoti in toxouh napa tecutli: ma çaquen njmomjxtia, yn ac inhqui njcochia, ac inhqui njnoqa, inhe quimati, yn aqui itla, nechmomaquilia, quimomacavilia:

ic quinquentoia ce quachtli, yn ixipetla muchioaia, ic oalquiça yn ichan:

auh ic muchitlacatl, ciatlaquaia yn joaniolque. 776

Auh yn jcalpulco in vmpa pialoia yxiptla, cenca tlamauiztiliaia, tlacetiaia, in petlachiuhque, muchipa petlatenca, icpaltenca, tlatzatzalca, tlachpana, tlacuccuj, tletlalia, muchipa cupaltema, tlatzacalihuhtoc tlatzacalihuhtianj. [356] atle vetztoc, ça tlaçolli.

Auh yuju yn muchichioaia, motiliocac, mjxtlilpopoctz, 776 mixtlilhuj, mjchchiaujticac, amaxcale, yiamacuexpal. amamaxtle, cuixtle, ixtaccaque, atlacuruçonaxchimale, axtapilcapile.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepictoton), who were held to be among the Tlaloca.

[The Tepictoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlaloca.

These thus named Tepictoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind arose over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images; that they would make representations of

Jnic cempoalli vce capitulo, vtechpa tlatoa yn inuca tepictoton: yn jnoan pouja tlaloque.

No yuhqui pouj, intech tlamjloia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mjtoaia tepicton, çan quimonpiquija, quimixiptlaiotiaia, in tetepe, in çaço caxitl tepetl.

Auh yn ilquja cruciujia, cuenpeoaia, quaquaxolxia, cuentetemeoja: anoço yn aquja aolan miquimequj, chocaci ipan 776 mocuetza atle: vncan momotoltiaia yuic tepiquix, in 782 quipipiqui: quetzalcouatl, in chalchiuitl ycac, in tlaloc:

115. The corresponding Spanish text specifies "*vn ramo de salze*" (*sauce*).
116. According to Durán, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 228), the *calpuleques* were "*señores ó guardas de barrios.*"

Category 567-615

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X 796 in his discourse, that he might talk graciously, converse well, and greet people agreeably on the road, if he met anyone.

For he was much honored when he appeared as the impersonator; because he was the likeness of Titlacauan; he was acknowledged as our lord, treated like a lord; one begged favors, with sighs; before him the common people bowed in reverence and kissed the earth.

[827] And if they noted that his body became even a little fat, they made him drink brine, so that he became thin; the salt water thinned him, so that he became lean; he became hard; his flesh became firm.

And for one year he [thus] lived; at [the feast of] Toxcatl, he appeared [before the people]. And when the man died who had been impersonator for one year, he who had led the way, he who had cast [the spear] for one year, who had given commands for one year, forthwith was one chosen to be set in his place, from all whom the temple guardians had saved and cared for at the time that [the captives] appeared [before them].

Thereupon he began his office: he went about playing his flute. By day and by night he followed whatever way he wished.

[302 567] His eight young men went following him. Four [of them] had fasted for a year; their hair was shorn like [the hair of] slaves, cut and clipped, not smooth like a gourd, nor cut [too] short, not [made like] growing whiskers on the head.

And four warriors, who instructed youths in the art of war, [were] similarly shorn. Their hairdress lay upright on their foreheads.

Then Moctezuma adorned [the impersonator] well and arrayed him in varied garb; he provided him [his appropriate indumentary]. He ornamented him, he adorned him in great pomp with all costly articles, which he caused to be placed upon him; for verily he took him to be his beloved god. His face was anointed with black; it was said: "He fasteth with blackened face." A thick layer of black was smeared on his cheeks. White feathers were placed upon his head—the soft down of eagles. They placed it on his hair, which fell to his loins.

[302]

[301] And when he was attired, he went about with sweet-smelling flowers[7] upon his head, a crown of flowers. And these same were hung over both shoul-

ynic vel mjmatiz, ica itlatol, vellatoz, vel tzmotza, vel tetlapaleuz in vtlica, intla aca qujnamiquiz:

ipampa ca cenca mauiztililoia yn iquac oixnez, in ie teixiptla: ynic ixiptlati Titlacaoan, ca totecujo ipan machoia, netecuiotilo, tlatlauhtilo, yca elciciooa, ixpan nepechteco, ixpan ontlalqua in maceoaltzintli.

Auh intla ie qujtta, in ie achi tomaoa ynacaio, iztaiotl qujltequjtiaia, ic qujquaoatzaia, quiztaoquaoatza, ynic pipinja, tepitzauj, tlalichauj yn jnacaio.

Auh cexiujtl in nemja ipan toxcatl, yn ixnecia: auh iquac miquj ce tlacatl yn oteixiptlatic ce xiujtl, in ce xiujtl, ocallaotlatocti, in ce xiujtl oqujtlaz, in ce xiujtl ocallaujcac: ça çan ic mopatlatiuja yn ixquetzaloia, yn ixquichtin quinpiaia, in, quinnepjtiaia cacalpisque, yn iquac oixnez:

njman ic compeoaltia, yn itequjuh, in tlapitztinemj: cemilhujtl, yoan ceniooal: çan connequja in campa ieh vtli quitocaz:

quitocatinemj yn iachoan chicuetintin: navin mocexiuhçauhque, moquatexoloxima, moquateçonoa, motlatetecilhuja, amo maiochiquj, amo maioichiquj, amo moquacoconaloa, amo moquatetzicoa

Auh no naujntin, teachcaoan, tetiachcaoan, çan ie yujn moxima yn iuhca innexin, motlaeoatimanjlia, yn jmjxquac.

Jquac vel qujcencaoa, qujcecencaoa in Motecuçuma, qujtlamamaca, qujchichioa, quiiiecquetza: muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jtech qujtlalilia: ipampa canel ic ytlaçoteouh jpan qujmati, moçaoa, ic mjtoa motlilçaoa, mixtlilpopotztinenca, moquapotonjaia, quauhtlachcaiotica: çan q'ujaqujliaia yn itzon, ycujtlacaxiuhian vetzia.

Auh yn omocencauh izqujxochitl in icpac contectinemj, icpac xochiuh: yoan çan ie no ieh in nococ-

7. *Bouvardia houstoni Hemsley*, according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 97, n. 1, and *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 68). In the former he quotes from Hernández that the flower resembled poppy corn.

3: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

at [the village of] Uitzilopochco. It was there at the [spring called] Uitzilatl, in a cave. With cypress[4] branches they stopped [the mouths of the jars] as they went. They proceeded bearing [the water] with them.

When they had taken [the water] hence, they thereupon sprinkled it upon [the victims], there at the foot [of the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And there they gave [the victims] their paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to die. And they painted them with stripes, in blue, from their feet up to their knees; and from their hands up to their elbows. And their faces they stained in horizontal stripes of alternate colors, light blue and yellow.[5] And they inserted nose plugs made of an arrow and a half disc.

And when it was so done, when they had adorned them, when they had prepared them, then [the bathers, they who owned the slaves,] took them to the tribal temple, but they came hence quickly. Thereupon each [owner of a victim] went to his house [with his slaves]. There they took apart and set down [the victims'] array, placing [their ornaments] in palm leaf baskets for them. And there, together, [the owners] began the singing and dancing, going in company with their women.

And when they had come to the fifth day [before the feast], then they who owned the slaves[6] and the old men of the tribal temple began a fast. They ate only at midday,[7] and bathed themselves at midnight. Having bathed there at the cloud house, they then departed from the tribal temple.

And the woman who was to bathe [the slaves] bathed herself at the water's edge. She set up one thorn, stained with blood, on the bank. And when the four days of fasting ended, then at nightfall the serpent dance was danced. The bathed victims danced the serpent dance, as well as their owners, who had bathed them, and those who were to seize them, and those who were to bring them down [from the temple, when they were slain], and those who

vmpan ca vitzilatl, oztoc, avevetica in qujoaltzatzacutivi, intlan qujoalaantivi: 796r 778

in oqujoalhujcaque: njman ie ic qujmatzelhuja, vncan in jcxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, yoan vncan qujnmamaca in jmamatlatquj, in jmamanechichical in jpan mjqujzque, yoan qujntexo vavana in imjcxic, inmetzpan tlatlamj, yoan in inma, imacolpā tlatlamj: yoā imjxtlan tlatlaana, ic tlatlapantiuh in texotli, in coztic, yoan qujmontlalilia iacapilolli, mjtl muchioa, yoan anecuiotl. 796r 302 [301]

Auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmōchichiuhque, in oqujmōcencauhque, njman ic qujnvivica in incacalpulco, çan oalqujqujztiqujça, njmā ie ic vivi in inchachan tealtique, vmpa qujnxixitinja, qujntlatlalilia in intlatquj, qujmōtanatemjlia. Auh vncan in teoan compeoaltia in cujcoianoa, qujnvivicativi in incioaoan. 796r 567

Auh in oacic, vncā tlamacujlti: njmā vncā compeoaltia in moçaoeja tealtique, yoan in calpulvevetque: tlacatlaquaia, yoan maltiaia in ioalnepantla: vmpā aiauhcalco in ommaltiaia, vncan oneoa in calpulco. [515]

Auh in cioatl tealtiz, çan vncā in jatenco ommaltia: ce vitztli cōquetza atenco ezço: auh in otzōquiznavilhujtl, injc moçaoa: njmā ic oaliova in coanecujlolo, coanecujloa in tlaaltidti, yoā in tealtique, yoan in teanque yoan in tetemovique, yoā im panoa- [535]

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que quiere decir, lisadas, porque las lavaban y regalaban para que resplandesca, para que su cuerpo fuese salroso cuando los hubiesen de matar y comer; consagrabas estas cosillas en Atezcapantzinco, porque allí había feria de ellas y allí las vendían los que trataban en esclavos."

The Real Primero MS (Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 317) reads: *"Auh inic mitoa tealtiani yehica in ixiacatzli machiçia calnepa atecpanohtia in iuquich canā ompaahtiaia"*—*"y se dice el que hace gente porque a su esclavo siempre le bañaba con agua salobre, cada uno de los suyos dice."*

4. Tejo (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 59) calls *ahuehuetl* swamp cypress (an emblem of kingly power). In Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 332) it is defined as *Tzotzolcan mamaxtiani Tree*; the corresponding Spanish text has *"hoxas de cedro,"* [sic]. Ignacio Dávila Garibi, *Epitomes de voces nahuas* (Méjico: Editorial Cultura, T. G., S. A., 1949), Vol I, pp. 156ff., has some notes on the etymology of *ahuehuetl*.

5. Tejo, in *Codex Vaticanus 3773* (*Codex Vaticanus B*) (Berlin: Druck von Gebr. Unger, 1902), p. 8, describes this face painting (*istlon tlahuac*) as *Gesicht in Querstreifen*. The stripes, although of different color, are characteristic of Tezcatlipoca.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: *"dueños de los esclavos,"*

7. *"Comian al medio dia"* (*loc. cit.*); *"Ite ayan (our siesta) an Tzqui (an Mixing)"*—Galen, *Xinipe Xquiol*, p. 306; *"comia a medias"* (Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 312).

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

Thirty-sixth Chapter, where are related the feasts and sacrifices which were made in the days of the seventeenth month, which was called Tititl.[1]

Seventeenth feast: this was known by the name of Tititl.

Upon [this] feast died a person named Ilama tecutli—[one in] her likeness, a ceremonially bathed [slave].[2] The majordomos procured her.

And the adornment of [the likeness of] Ilama tecutli was [as followeth: she had] her white skirt, her white shift—completely white. And over this she was girt with [what was] named the star skirt. This was bedight with small sea shells, on cured skin cut into long, thin strips, [with] shells set at the end of each [strip]. She wore it about her hips over [the other skirt]. When she walked, much did [the shells] jingle, the pleasant sound [carrying] far. And her sandals had white toes, woven with cotton threads.

And her shield was covered over with white clay and pasted with eagle feathers. Its center was made of eagle feathers, sewn to the middle [of the shield], and it had pendants at the edges, of heron feathers, and [tassels shaped like] grasshopper heads, of eagle feathers, hung at the point. And in [the other] hand she bore her weaving stick.[3]

And her face painting was in diverse colors. About the lower part of her face, they spread black. It was said, the lower part of her face was blackened. And upon her nose and forehead, they laid yellow ochre.

And her eagle feather headpiece, a headdress with eagle feathers arrayed upon it, consisted only of hair, twisted, arranged and well disposed, braided and interwined with itself. The headdress was called *tzompilinalli*.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli oce, capitulo vncan motenecoa in ilhujtl, yoā in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpan vel ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtóltetl omume metztli in mjtoaia Tititl.

Injc caxtoltetl omume ilhujtl iehoatl in motenecoa, itoca Tititl:

in jpan in ilhujtl, ce tlacatl mjquja, itoca: Ilama tecutli, ixiptla, tlaaltilli: calpixque in qujnextia.

Auh in jnechichical catca in Ilama tecutli, iztac in jcue, iztac in jvipil, çan cemjztac: auh in panj quimocuetia, itoca citlalli icue: inin cuechtli in tlachioalli, cuetlaxtli in tlapipitzaoacaxcotlalli, tlapipitzaoacatectli, yiacac in tlatlatlalilli cuechtli; panj ic ommotzincuetia: in jquac nenemj cenca xaxamaca, veca caquijzti: yoan icacac, iztac in jquetzil, in jquequetzil: icpatl injc tlaquiztli,

yoan ichimal, çā tiçachimalli, quauhpachiuhquj: in jnepantla quauhivitl in tlachioalli, inepantla in tlatzōtli, chimalli, yoan tentlapilollo, aztatl in tlapilolli quauhivitl in jiacachapollo, in jiacac pipilcac, yoan centlapal quitzitzquja, itzotzopaz:

yoā moxauh mochictlapana, mjchictlapana: in jtenco qujteca tlilli: mjtoa, motentlilhuja: auh in jiac ipan, yoan ixquac tecoçavitl in qujteca,

yoan iquauhtzon, tzoncalli in jtech tlavipantli in quauhivitl, çan mjxcavia in tzōtli, tlamalintli, tlavipantli, tlavipanalli, itech tlatzontli, tlanetech itzontli: in tzōcalli, mjtoaia, tzompilinalli.

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1. "Entrenimiento." Garibay suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 314). Ortega y Beera (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 39) writes: "Tititl. *Tzopemoada traducr, tiempo apretado; Betancur, encerrr ó encerrar cosas.* Gamez *concluse cosas sobre la interpretacion de Betancur, y cree la raya del verbo tzitzin, rebuscar despues de la cosecha.*" Tezozomoctzin (*op. cit.*, p. 308) simplifies his version thus: "*porque la era de frio, y helador, las quales aventan mucho, por ser rapa de que vsaban, y porque por este mismo tiempo, cuidadan apretadas, con Guerras, y Andaua, que tenian las vnas Prouincias contra las otras, y se matauan, y destruian vnas à otras.*"

Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 301-2) writes: "*quiere decir encierr . . . imaginaban en el cielo dos nidos entrandose el uno al otro. . . . habia bailes de mugeres y hombres cuidos unos con otros de las manos.*"

The Tovar Calendar refers to the gods stretching and thus supporting "the machine of the world" because of the violent winds. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5; also *supra*, pp. 130-31 and n. 3.

3. The shield and the entire costume of the goddess are clearly illustrated several times in the *Codex Borbonicus*. Paso y Troncoso (*op. cit.*, p. 273) thus describes the shield: "*la rodela, que se acomoda muy bien á la descripcion que han dejado los indios, es blanca; tiene un cerco de plumas de águila pegadas en el escudo; y llena como repartido tiene 3 clases de plumas: unas pequeñas de garzotas, redondas (que algunos han*

they placed them to one side. They strewed them in the water, and none, verily, might taste the husks. Because of this, care was therefore taken that none should be scorched, burned, or dropped into the fire.

And only during one day were they eaten. By night they were done; all finished. They left nothing for the next day.

And when it grew dark, the old men and the old women drank, alone. It was said: "They refresh themselves."

And after this they set up the image of the fire [god], Ixcoçauhqui, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhyoueue. They gave him figure and substance of a dough of amaranth seed. These things they whose office it was, did—the men of the tribal temple, known as the Tzonmulca[2]—who especially worshipped [fire] as a god.

And when the twentieth day came, it was said: "Izcalli hath ended." They who provided ceremonially bathed victims then published and made it known to others [that they had secured sacrificial victims, each] setting forth in public his ceremonially bathed one, a slave whom he had bought, made [to be] the likeness of Ixcoçauhqui; the owner then adorned him, causing to be placed upon him all the array of Ixcoçauhqui. Thus it was said: "The bather [of the victim] gathereth [his wealth]."

And for this reason did one say "the bather [of a victim]"; he continually bathed his victim with hot water all the time until he went to his death; all the time he caused him to know that death would be his lot at an appointed time; that he would die in the count of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

And before he died, he favored him greatly. The bather was careful of [the victim]; he enriched him [with gifts]; he restored all to him. All the food which he offered him was good.

And a harlot was provided as his guardian. Constantly she amused him; she caressed him; she made him laugh and be merry. Taking him about the neck, she rejoiced, she embraced him. She caught his lice [for him]; she combed his hair and arranged his hairdress. She made him forget his sorrows. And when the time came for the bathed one to die, the harlot took everything; she rolled and bundled up all the belongings of the bathed one. That which he wore he placed upon her; that which he had used

in itoatl: ipampa ic momalhujaia inic amo aca mochichinoz, motlatiz, tleco onvetzin. 796[X] [252]

Auh çan vel cemjlhujtl in qualoia: in ie ioca otlatlan, moch tlamja, aoctle qujmocavia in jmuztlaioc.

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoana in vevetque in jlamatque, çanjoque: mjtoaia, Texcalcevia. [273]

Auh in jquac y, qujtlaliaia in jxiptla tletl Ixcoçauhquj, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhioveve, tzoualli in qujtlacatlaliaia, in qujnacaiotiaia: iehoan qujchioaia in jtech povia calpoleque, motenoa: Tzommulca, oc cenca iehoan in qujmoteutiaia.

Auh injc onaci cempoalilhujtl: mjtoa, Izcalli tlamj: in tealtianj, iquac qujteittitia, qujteixmachtia, teixpan qujquetza in jtlaaltil iez, in oquicouh tlacotli: in jxiptla muchioa Ixcoçauhquj, iquac ic qujchichioa itech qujtlalilia in jxqujch in jnechichioal Ixcoçauhquj ic mjtoaia, tlaixnextia in tealtianj: [567]

auh injc mjtoa, tealtianj: in jtlaaltil muchipa caltia, atotonjltica in jxqujch cavitl mjqujtiuh, in jxqujch cavitl qujmatitiuh in vncā imjqujz tequjpā in jtlapoalpan: in mjqujz ipan tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Auh in aiamo mjqui, cenca qujmavizmatia, qujçeçēmatia in tealtianj, qujtlaoenectia qujtlacuecuepilia: muchi qualli tlaqualli in qujmacaia:

auh ce avienj, in jtepixcauh muchioaia: muchipa caviltia, caavilia, qujcamanalhuja, qujvetzquitia, qujquequeloa, iquechtlan ilacuj, qujquechnaoa, castemja, qujtzitziquaouzvia, qujpepepetla, qujtlaoculpopoloa: auh in jquac ie imjqujzpan tlaaltilli: in avienj moch concuj, oztlacemololoa, concemololoa in jxquich in jtlatquj tlaaltilli: in oquiquequemja, in jtech oqujtlatlaliaia in oqujtitlanja, in jpā oiztlacatrinenca, 796[X] 548 [515]

2. Tzommulco: temple of the fire god; also one of the districts of Tenochtitlan. It is mentioned in the Appendix, p. 177, as the sixty-fourth building. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 227; Vol. V, p. 74).

Atempan.

Atempan: here they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "Human Banners." And when they had gathered them together, thereupon they carried them in procession; they carried them upon litters.

And when they had carried them in procession, then they dispersed them. Perchance they left them at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhqueme.

Atempan.

In atempan, vncan quintecpichoaia in tlacateuhti: auh in jquac in oquintecpichoque: njman ye ic quintlaiaoalochtia, quintlapechvia. 796 346

Auh in jquac oquimontlaiaoalochtique: njman ye ic qujnmoiaoa, aço atlitic tepetzinco quimoncaoaia, anoço quauhtepec, yiauhqueme ijcpac.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco. When there were very many captives, sometimes they were slain here. And here were kept the spears and the arrows to be used in conquests.

Tezcacoac tlacochcalco

In tezcacooac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quemman, yquac in cenca mjiec malli: yoan vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya. [712]

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli.

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli: here they gathered together [the slaves] for the Tlaloca. And when they had assembled them all, then they here slew them.

And when they had slain them, then here they cut them in pieces, and cooked them; they put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the nobility, and all the important men ate [the stew]; but not the common folk—only the leaders.

Acatl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In acatl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan qujcenquixtiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oquicenquixtique, njman vncan qujnmjctiaia: [567]

auh in jquac in oquimonmjctique, njman vncan qujntetequja, yoan qujnpaoacia, caiouchqujlhujaia in jnnacaio. [266]

Auh yn jquac oqujnpaoaque: njman qujquaia in pipilti, in jxquich tecutlatoque: amono ichoantin in maceoalti, ça yehoantin in tlatoque.

Techielli.

Techielli: here were placed fir branches.[13]

Techielli.

In techielli: vncan acxoiaxmaloia.

The Tribal Temple.

All the small houses which stood around the temples were called *calpulli*. Here men fasted.

And only the noblemen, the leading men, those who instructed noblemen's sons in war, the chieftains, here fasted, every twenty days.

[Of this,] it was said: "All men fast five days."

And when the fasting took place, five days hence

Calpulli.

In ie muchi caltotonti in tlaiaoalotoc, ioan qujiaoalotoc teucalli: in mjtoaia calpulli, vncan neçaoloia: 796 346

auh çan ichoantin in pipiltin, in tlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque vncan moçavaia, cempooaltica, 785

mjtoaia: nemacujlçaoaloia.

Auh in jquac moçaoaia, oc iuh macujlilhujd quj-

13. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún says that they gathered reeds (*cañas*).

9: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Astec NU7

The Eighth Chapter telleth how they held in dread hunger and famine when One Rabbit ruled the year count, and what they first did when the year count of One Rabbit had not yet begun.

And [even] when [the year] One Rabbit had not yet set in, first provision was made; our food was hidden away, stored, saved up, and placed in bins. Nothing was thrown away; all then was saved—wild seeds not commonly eaten; musty maize; corn silk; corn tassels; pulp scraped from maguey tappings, tuna cactus flowers; cooked maguey leaves; heated maguey sap.

Everything was taken into account: [with] amaranth, even the weeds[10] were threshed; [as for] the beans, likewise were stored and put away unripened ones and the dried, withered ends of the green beans. And when they had used all, they satisfied and quickened themselves [with] bird seed, bitter amaranth or bright red amaranth, and *yacacolli* maize.[11]

This was the time when they bought people;[12] they purchased men for themselves. The merchants were those who had plenty, who prospered; the greedy, the well-fed man, the covetous, the niggardly, the miser, who controlled wealth and family, guardians, the mean, the stingy, the selfish. In the homes of [such men] they crowded, going into bondage, entering house after house—the orphan, the poor, the indigent, the needy, the pauper, the beggar, who were starved and famished; who just as they went to sleep, just so awoke; who found nothing and got nowhere; who in no place found their rest, relief or remedy. At this time one sold oneself. One ate oneself; one swallowed oneself. Or else one sold and delivered into bondage his beloved son, his dear child.

Inic chicuey capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: inic quimacacia apiztli, in maianalíztli, in icoac tlauicaia, in xiuhtlapoalli in ce tochtli: yoan in tlein achtopa quichioaia, in aiamo vmpeoa xiuhtlapoalli, ce tochtli.

Auh in icoac, aiamo moquetza ce tochtli: achtopa nenemachtiloia, netlatlatililo, netetzontilo, netecatilo, mocuezcomatema in tonacaiotl: aoc tle motlaça, muchicoac netlatililo in polocatl, in popoiotl, in xilotzõtli, in miiaoatl, in metzolli, in nochxochitl, in mescalli, in necutlatotonilli.

Auh inic muchi temachiloia, in oauhtli çan yoã moconoa in ipolocaio: in etl çan yoan motlatiaia, mocalaquiaia in iaxaoacaio, yoan in jexococoloio in opatzaoac. Auh icoac, muchi tlaiecoa, tlaacotlaça tlaihiiocuitia in petzicatl, in chichic oauhtli, anoço teuoauhtli, iacacolli:

ie icoac tecoa, motlacacouia, in vnca quicoani, in mocuiltonoa, in motlacamati, in tlãtlametl, tlairrotiani, atle quiçaoa, tlaistamachiuhqui, tlaçaloani, tlapachoani, tlamalhuiani, teuic, tzotzoca, motzol: ichan maaquia, mihitoa, mocacalaquia in icnotlacatl, in motolinja, in quiciaui, in quihiiouia: in aoneeotinemi, in aonmacitinemi, in apizmicqui, in teuciuhque: in iuhqui cochi, in iuhqui meoa, in aualnecini, in aoccan vitz, in aoccan quitta ihiiocuiia, iceuhca, ipatica: ie vncan in monamaca, in moqua, in motoloa: anoço quinamaca, quimonamaquilia in ipiltzin, in iconetzin:

12. *In amohtli çan yoã in ipohuia:* cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Méjico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), II, p. 262: "*Amohtli pohuiaya, es la semilla de los esclavos que bendian, con todas sus inmundicias.*" Jean, *op. cit.*, p. 69. has "*Idéraus von neuer auch die Sklavenhändler aus.*"

13. Some of these items are identified in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 63. *Yacacolli* is described in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, eds.; Paris: G. Masson, Editeur, 1880), p. 118, n. 2, as "*espèce de maïs.*" See also the Robredo edition, Vol. I, p. 159

14. The translation of this passage differs in some details from that of Jean (*op. cit.*, pp. 68-71), *q. v.*

Quiçaoani appears in the *Real Palacio* MS as *quiçaoa*. The term could be translated, "those who are people." Cf. *in maqua* (use an oarsman), toward the end of the paragraph.

805 262
805 567
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5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[For] they had incurred sins. They had taken unto themselves, and placed themselves in, great wrong, through which they went always being slaves, until at last they were to die.

And even if he died, once again some one of his kin stood surety for him. Or else his beloved son offered himself and finished for him. None were neglected. Their kin and their lineage went on continuing and extending [the obligation]; they went on paying the debt and concerning themselves [with it]. Always they fulfilled the pledge, continued taking the place of others, served for one another; they all entered the households of their lords.

If sons or grandsons were born to him, at once [their elders] assigned them their great faults. When they matured, when they gained prudence, when they looked about, already servitude would be upon them. Already they wielded the hoe, they used the tump line; already they were [as] someone else's dogs, someone else's turkeys. For in truth [slavery] had come upon them; they had come against that which they could not leave—of which they could not be rid. For their fathers, their grandfathers, their mothers, and their grandmothers had proceeded to merit for them, to acknowledge for them, to bequeath them, to load and place upon them, [their transgressions]. For difficult was that which they had left and bequeathed them in time of famine—those who hungered and starved, who no longer were proud, who no longer persevered, who indeed were sick; who had eaten themselves, had sold themselves.

[This was] because they had prepared nothing for themselves, had shown no forethought for themselves; had paid no heed, had lived in negligence, and were disposed to evil before the year sign One Rabbit had begun—[when] it had not yet set in.

Thus was it said, that their fathers and grandfathers had succumbed to One Rabbit; hence they took on great sins.

When [the year] One Rabbit had fulfilled its task, when the year had been completed, then it delivered its charge to the sign of the east: Two Reed was the one which [then] set in.

motlatlaculnamictia, ueuetlatlaculli quimottitia, quimotlalilia: inic muchipa centlacotli ietiuh, in iquich cauitl miquiz.

Auh in manel onmic, oc ceppa ipan oalmoquetza, aca ioaniolqui, anoço ipiltzin ōmisquetza, ipan tlaiecoa: aiac miacaoa, ma antiui, motilinitiui, cemololiuhtiui, mocemichictiui in incalloc, in incuitlaxcolloc: muchipa impan tlaiecoa, impan oonotiui, mocepanpaleuia, cencalaqui in ichan intecuiio:

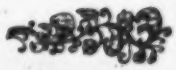
intla tlacatizque ipilhoan, in imisuioan, çan niman ie quincauilitiui in ineuetlacol: in oalmozcalizque, in oalistlamatizque, in oallachiazque, ie intech ca in intlacoio, ie uicti, ie mecapalti, ie teitzcuinhoan, ie tetotolhoan: ca nel oimpan ia, oquimonamictique, in auel tecauh, in auel poliui: ca intahoā, inculhoan, innanhoā, inchiho in quinmaceuitiui, quincuitiui, quincauilitiui, quinmamaltiti quintlalilitiui:: ca ouicā in concauhque, in quimouncauilique, inic maianalco, in teuiuiian, in apizmiquia, aoc imatlamatia, aoc ontlaiecoa, uel icocoiaia: in moquaque, in monamacaque.

Ipampa, in atle cōmochioaltique, in atle ic onmotlamachique, in aquen ommomatque, in çan onmotlaçomatque, onmauilmatque: in icoac aiamo peoa, aiamo moquetza xiuhtonalli ce tochtli.

Ic mitoa, ca mocetochuique in intahoan in inculhoan: inic quicuique veuetlatlacolli.

In icoac, ie otequit ce tochtli, in otlamonquisti ce xiuitl: niman ic ie itech concaoa, in tlapcopa tonalli: ichoatl oalmoquetza in vme acatl.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7



Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca tlatoanj, ixqujch tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan motzontequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe iauiotl: ioan vncan atlioa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenquixtia tlatoanj. 000

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncā tlatoloia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauija, in aqujque tlatlacoa, vncan qujntlatzontequjliaia. 692

Tlacxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecutlatoque: in jxqujch tlamantli in jnetelhujl cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli: vnca qujcaqujliaia, vncan qujtlatzontequjliaia; ioan ixqujch tlamantli mjqujztli vncan qujtzontequja aço aca quimecanjzque, anoço aca qujtetepachozque, anoço aca quauhtica mjqujz qujujujtequjzque, anoço aca pilli, anoço tecutlato, ximaloz, totocoz, callaliloz, maceoalcuepaloz, anoço aca ilpiloz quāuhcalco tlaliloz: ioan vncan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oxiujtl in maianaloc, in pipilti mjequjntin, in qujnnamacaque in jntelpuchcoan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in oquicac motecuçuma: tlanaoati injc nechicolozque, in jxqujchtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzalozque in jntecujioboan, injc macozque, injc cuepilozque in jntlatquj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc quimpatiotica pipilti, ioā oppamjxtlapan injc qujntlaxtlaujli, injc qujntlatlacollaz pipilti. 731 567 643

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in neteilhujlli, çan njman iciuhca motzontequja, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 22-23: "*Los señores, tlatoāni, quiere decir, personas nobles, generosas o magníficas. . . . Y los compuestos de tlatoāni que se componen con nombres masculinos, significan personas nobles, como diciendo en tlatoāni, una persona hombre, o varón.*" Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Gliederung der Alt-Aztekischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf, aus dem Aztekischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagun's* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 32.
2. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, at the feet."
3. See Pl. 66.
4. See Pls. 67, 67.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the marks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad]-only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[12a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silver-smiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INIC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncā mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jzqujtlamantli, mācehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlātoanj, in aço māçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujiehecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujmomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, ālacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçoloctli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamantli mācehoallatqujtl, [534]

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlaroa: motlaiehecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaiehecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaiehecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaiehecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

[302 304]

INIC CHICUEI PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan catca tlatlacoti 567 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaiz, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tozneneme, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujlòque, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Pinpiaiz*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called amanteca after the district of Amantlan, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *tequanpixti* for *tequanpixque*, and begins with the term a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "*Cosa de las fieras.*"

[p.46 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[30]

● [567 721 Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[31] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[32]

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36[r] of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacā, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapā, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.
We may add the town of Çacualpā (10).

[30] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

[31] "Estavan subjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que est[os] le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

[32] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona prençipal la que prendian la embiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

less due to the strategic position of Ocelotepec on the Tototepec frontier. 651 632

Quauxiloticpac and five other towns gave a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[127]

Quauxilotitlan paid white cotton mantles and women's blouses, loincloths, little copper hoops, green birds called "xiuhtototl," and maize.[128]

Teotitlan del Valle rendered tribute of gold dust, cotton mantles, [567] fowl, bundles of aji, and slaves.[129]

Teotzacualco paid chalchiuites and feathers and mantles of cotton and henequen, and also made special milpas of maize, beans, chia, and cotton—all of which went to the local Mexican garrison.[130] [712]

Teticpac gave fowl, hares, rabbits, deer, and honey.[131]

Tlacolula gave military service only.[132]

Tlaliztacan paid in feathers, mantles, and military service.[133]

Totomachapa joined the other "pueblos peñoles" in a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[134]

Xilotepec, like the other "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.[135]

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[123] See Itzquintepec, above.

[124] *PNE*, 4: 197: "estaban subjetos ... a Motecçuma, y el señorio que sobre ellos tenya hera que le tributauan mantas de algodon blancas y 'guaypiles' que son a manera de camysas, ques vna bestidura que las mugeres traen, y vnos pañetes que en la lengua mexicana se dizen maxtle, y vnas coronas de cobre a manera de guirnaldas, y vnos pájaros verdes que en la dicha lengua se dicen xihuytototl, y maiz."

[125] *PNE*, 4: 106: "e a todos estos señores que tuvieron les dauan de tributo oro en polvo, mantas de algodon e gallinas, fardos de agi, yndios por esclavos."

[126] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "al cual dicho montesuma trybutaban piedras que entre ellos ay que se dizen chalchigüites y plumeria y mantas de algodon y nequen y que le hazian sementeras de mayz frizoles y chian y algodón todo lo cual se gastaba entre los soldados que en este dicho pueblo tenian de guarnycion."

[127] *PNE*, 4: 111: "el tributo que les davan heran gallinas, liebres, conejos, venados, miel."

[128] *PNE*, 4: 145: "al Señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... no les tributavan con cosa alguna sino con seruirle quando llamaua a la guerra." Presumably these services were kept up under the Mexica.

[129] *PNE*, 4: 179: "tributauan plumas, mantas, e le servian en yr a la guerra."

[130] See n. 105 above.

[131] See n. 105 above.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

Slaves were not nu-
● [567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the xacales." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers, they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable. Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jennequin"). This was the most ordinary
[291] material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fueron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proven that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI. p. 313); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

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shapen, if she did not join a husband at the proper age, was also regarded as a reprobate.[81]

To these two kinds of outcasts others should be added. It is a known fact that, if any member of a calpulli failed to cultivate his garden lot for two years, or if he failed to have it cultivated under his name, then he lost every and all rights thereto. This implied expulsion from the calpulli, consequently again, *expulsion from the bond of kinship*. Any one who removed from the quarter or calpulli to which he belonged, lost his rights thereby; in other words he became an outcast.[82]

The lot of such people, thrust, as they were, outside of the pale of regular society, was an unenviable one. Removal to foreign tribes was not only dangerous, but even impracticable in the earlier times, when the class came into existence. Still they had to *live*. Therefore the males bargained their services to such members of the kins, as could afford to nourish them in return for manual labor.[83] No other remuneration but subsistence could be thought of. For the sake of subsistence therefore the outcast became, what the majority of authorities have called a *slave*.

Fray Juan de Torquemada writes as follows; — "The manner, in which these Indians made slaves, was very different from that of the nations of Europe and other parts of the world. It was very difficult at the outset of their conversion to understand it properly, but to make it clear (especially as the customs of Mexico, and Tetzcuco had it, since other Provinces not subject to these king-

[81] *Anonymous Conqueror* (Vol. I, Col. de Doc., p. 397): "& gente che stima meno le donne di quanti nationi sono al mondo, perchi non gli comunichereble mai i fatti loro, anchora che conoscesse che li farlo gli potesse melter conto." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536). See *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III. p. 306), on "mancebas" in general in regard to women who refused to marry, though living a dissolute life. Also *Sahagun* (Lib. X. cap. XV, p. 37); *Zurita* (p. 129). If a girl abandoned her house, she might finally be disposed of as a slave, or be abandoned ("on les abandonnait").

[82] *Zurita* (p. 86): "Le propriétaire qui ne cultivait pas pendant deux années, par sa faute ou par négligence, sans juste cause, ... était averti de les cultiver; et s'il ne le faisait pas, l'année d'ensuite on les donnait à un autre." (Id. p. 54): "Si, par hazard, le membre d'un calpulli le quittait pour aller demeurer dans un autre, on lui retirait les terres qui lui avaient été assignées. . . . . Adopted also by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 155). Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 426).

[83] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 441): "Los hombres necesitados y haraganes se vendian. . . ." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 34): "Hay en todos los mercados y lugares públicos de la dicha ciudad, todos los dias, muchas personas trabajadores y maestros de todos oficios, esperando quien los alquile por sus jornales." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, pp. 564 and 565; and Cap. XVII, pp. 565 and 566). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 486).

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565 doms, had other ways to make slaves) we say: that many condi-
● 567 tions were lacking, to create them actual slaves. For of these slaves of this New-Spain, some had means, might own and possess them of their own, and they could not be sold again except under the conditions mentioned hereafter. The service rendered to their master was limited, not for always, nor ordinary. Some, upon marrying, became released, their relatives or brothers taking their place. There were also skilful slaves who, besides serving their masters, still kept house, with wife and children, purchasing and holding slaves themselves. The children of slaves were born free."[84]

567 The Mexican term for slave was, literally a "purchased man" ("tlacotli.") He was in fact but a "bondsman." Through a special contract, made before authorized witnesses, his services, the proceeds of his labor, *and not his person*, became pledged to another. The member of a kin had no direct ownership in him whom he employed, he could not sell him again without that employer's consent, nor could he take his life in punishment of crime. If the latter broke his contract through repeated
[685] evasion he might finally be "collared," that is, his neck was enclosed in a wooden yoke, by means of which he was fastened to a wall at night. If the man still contrived to escape, then he was turned over to worship and sacrificed; but in case he succeeded in secreting himself in the official house without being intercepted by his master or one of that master's people, then he was spared, and even liberated from his bonds.[85] In addition to the supply furnished to the class of outcasts in the manner above indicated, there were accessions to it from outside. Fugitives were of rare occurrence, since such, if from a tribe against which war was waged, were regarded as precious additions, too important to be ranged among the outcasts.[86] But we have several instances, in the ancient history of Mexico, of destructive
[731] drouths as well as of disastrous inundations, depriving the inhabi-

[84] "*Monarchia Indiana*" (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 564).

[85] I have gathered these details mostly from *Torquemada* (Vol. II, pp. 564-566). Compare besides others, *Velancurt* (Vol. I, pp. 433, 434, and 456) and nearly all modern writers.

[86] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI. p. 130): "Y si de la parte contraria salia alguno á descubrir y dar aviso cómo su señor ó su gente venian sobre ellos, al tal dábanle mantas y pagábanle bien." Copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 538), and *Velancurt* (Parte II, Trat. II, cap. III, p. 384).

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tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[87]

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[88]

[87] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1520. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Telleriano Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 136) mentions one in 1404 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1402. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1454. In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 245) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the older, ("Huehue Motecuzuma") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay these aliments." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XL, p. 64), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 205) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 235) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap I, p. 269), agrees with Durán and Tezozomoc, so does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 263): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451–1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. XLVII, p. 158) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[88] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

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population of "hangers-on to the tribe." This class was yet not very numerous; still it grew slowly and steadily. Prohibited from carrying arms, and therefore from taking any part in warfare other than that of carriers and, perhaps, runners, the heavy drudgery of work was at their charge.[89] Even the tillage of lots appears to have been frequently assigned to them, and it may be that what is commonly termed the class of "macehuales" consisted of the outcasts who improved "tlalmilpa" for the benefit of members of the kin.[90] Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,

(Lib. II, cap. XLV, pp. 154-157; cap. LXII, p. 184; Lib. XIII, cap. XII, p. 436). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II. p. 265) admits two classes of concubines for married people, one of which he calls "the less legitimate wives." Among other authorities, he adduces in evidence *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 200): "Tenia esto Olintech treynta mugeres dentro de su casa, con quien el dormia, á las quales servian mas de ciento otras." The same statement is also found in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 326) and others. (The name for the mistress ("manceba") of a *married* man is "teichtacamecauh" (*Molina*, I, p. 81), which means literally "thy secret tie," from "Tehuatl"—"thou, "ichtaca"—secretly (II, p. 32), and "mecatl"—rope or cord (II, 56). See in a further note.

The most significant statements, however, are those already reported, of Motolinia and of Gomara, that the Indians explained their polygamy by the fact that *they kept these women for their work*. In other words, they were purchased hands. This is indicated by the following authorities: *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 441), "Las malas mujeres de su cuerpo, que lo daban de balde si no las querian pagar, se vendian par esclavas por traerse bien, ó cuando ninguno las queria, por viejas ó feas ó enfermas; que nadie pide por las puertas." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 563): "Havia tambien mugeres, que se daban á vivir suelta, y libertadamente; y para proseguir este mal Estado, que tomaban, tenian necesidad de vestir curiosa, y galanamente, y por la necesidad, que pasaban, porque no trabajaban . . . . llegaban á necesitarse mucho, y haciansse Esclavas;" and the same authority adds (Cap. XVII, p. 566): "y muchas veces los Amos se casaban, con Esclavas suias," without any closer definition however. Finally, the *Anónimo* says (p. 397): "Nelle nozze di questa patrona principale fanno alcune cirimonie, il che non si osserva nelle nozze dell' altre."

There is no evidence that a married man could increase the number of his women even with the consent of the parents, in other words, marry a girl. But if the latter had, through her own lewd conduct, become abandoned and cast off, then he could associate with her as his mistress without regard to his wife proper. Also he might purchase (or rather barter for) a female and afterwards make a concubine of her, even if she was of a foreign tribe. Prisoners of war (females) may occasionally have been spared also, but this suggestion rests on very slight evidence (compare "*Anónimo*," p. 373), and may apply only to prisoners of war purchased from other tribes (*Sahagun*, Lib. I, cap. XIX. p. 32).

[89] They were the "tamenes," carriers. The Mexican word is "tlamama," from "tlacatl"—man, and "nitla-mama"—to carry a load (*Molina*, II, p. 51). *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, "*Avis sur les Prestations personelles*," etc., p. 358. Ternaux, Recueil). *Zurita* (pp. 250, 251, and 280) "*Lettre des auditeurs Salmeron, Maldonado, Ceynos et Quiroga a l'Imperatrice*." (Mexico, 30 March, 1531, in 2d Recueil, etc., pp. 143 and 144): "Les Indiens ont de tout temps porté des fadeaux, ils y sont accoutumés . . . "

[90] This is a mere suggestion. The majority of descriptions, however, are such that the "mazehual" may have been, and probably was, a member of the kin. Still, in such cases, when that member could not improve his lots himself, families of "bondsmen" may have done the work for him, and thus become included in the general picture. Quotations are superfluous, since the information is not, as yet, positive enough.

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nate results. It certainly required men of capacity and experience to fill such a position, and we need not wonder, therefore, if the "calpixcs," whom Cortés met among the Totonacas of the coast, wore the distinctive tokens of chiefs.[299]

The conditions of tribute were various. Some tribes delivered their contributions every eighty days, whilst others sent them in annually.[300] In most cases, they had to be carried to Mexico-Tenuchtitlan by the tributaries, or at least, the delivery was at their charge.[301] This was done frequently by prisoners of war, made by the tributary pueblo and sent as part of the tribute itself.[302] The "calpixqui" superintended this intercourse, he verified the articles received, and again dispatched them, properly, to the "seat and home" of the Mexicans. All this necessitated

[299] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41).

[300] The most complete record of tributes which we possess, until now, is contained in the so-called *Codex Mendoza* (Parte Segunda, plates XIX to LVII, inclusive). A full discussion of the multifarious details thereof is impossible here. It would require an essay by itself, which, however instructive it might be, would largely exceed the limits of this paper. Of course, not all the authorities agree with them. I merely refer, in addition, to *Durán* (Cap. XXV), *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, pp. 535, 6 and 7), *Clavigero* (Lib VII, cap. XV). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV), the latter as well as *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIII, pp. 167 and 168) confining himself to the Texcucans and their tributaries exclusively. See furthermore, *Zurita* (pp. 246, 247 and 248), *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, p. 251). It is also interesting to consult the statements gathered on the tribute question, from tribes subject to the Mexicans. See, on *Chalco*, *Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion* (*Letter* dated: Chalco, 20 Sept., 1554, 2d "Recueil" of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 232 and 234): on *Matlatzinco*, *Zurita* (pp. 294-297), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140). The latter mostly copies from Zurita. Finally, much information as to the details can be gathered from the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 63 and 65), and especially from the traditions on the forays and dashes of the Mexicans contained in the specifically Mexican sources already quoted.

[301] *Tezcucomoc* (Cap. XXVII, p. 41, Cap. XXXIII, p. 52, Cap. LXI, p. 102, etc., etc.), *Durán* (Cap. LXIX, p. 171): "Pues mirá que lo sueis de llevar á México vosotros mesmos. Ellos respondiéron que les placia de lo llevar allá y servillos, ..." (Cap. XXII. p. 191): "y que se obligasen á traello á México. . . ." (Cap. XXIV, p. 206, Cap. XXV, p. 208, etc., etc., etc.)

[302] *Durán* (Cap. XXV, pp. 212 and 213). Such female slaves became concubines. The various tribes exchanged also their prisoners of war, one tribe buying (exchanging for products of the soil or for manufactures) of another those prisoners which it had received as such tribute, and also presenting each other on solemn occasions with such prisoners. There are many illustrations of this to be found. Thus the markets of aboriginal Mexico also had "slaves," for sale, who were obtained in this manner. They were not numerous, and did not form a class, only an object of medicine subject to exchange and barter. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 35, Vedia I) only speaks of "bonded people" standing in the markets" or "outcasts" ready to "bind" themselves—"to let." But *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89, Vedia II), evidently describes such unfortunate people: "é traianlos atados en unas varas largas, con collares á los pescuesos porque no se les huyesen, y otros dejaban sueltos." The same author (Cap. XLVI, p. 41) mentions the demand made upon the "Totonaca's" of the coast by the Mexican "calpixca" for "twenty Indians of both sexes to pacify their Gods therewith." This is confirmed in a general way by *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I).

Tezcatlipoca; he only went withdrawing rule and power from others.

And of him who was born on the day sign One Death it was said that he would prosper and be rich, whether a nobleman or only a poor vassal. Many were his gifts. Honor came his way and rested on him when he performed well his penances and humbled himself. But if he did not do well the penances, purely by his own act he forsook and harmed his day sign.

If, at this time, someone were born, then they bathed him and gave him a name. Small children performed the naming ceremony.[1] If a boy had been born, they therefore called forth [as his name] Miquiz, or Yaotl, Cenyaotl, Necoc yaotl, Chicoyaotl, or Yaomauitl. So they placed on him a name of Tezcatlipoca. Of this one it was said: "None may wish him harm: none may wish him to die." If anyone should wish or desire his death, he would simply sicken and suddenly die.

At this time it was the day sign of the slaves, the wretched slaves, whose dwelling places were by the hones for sharpening and the grinding stones. None of the slave-owners could scold them, or abuse them with vile words, or call angrily or indignantly to them when they learned that the morrow would be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. They then, first, took from them, struck off, and removed from them the wooden collars, the curved ones in which they were held and with which they went about restrained lest they flee. Then they soaped them and bathed them, and made much of and flattered them. They showed them great esteem, because, so they thought, they were his likenesses and representatives:[2] his beloved sons. It was said that they were like the blue cotingas, the trupials, the precious birds of Tezcatlipoca. And those who owned slaves warned and on threat of death[3] ordered their children, youths, and growing sons, commanding them sternly and rigorously, not to chide, deal vainly with, nor strike the slaves.

Auh in aquin ipā tlacatia itonal ce mjquiztli: mjtoaia mocujtonoz, motlamachtiz, intla pilli, anoço çan maceoaltzintli, muchi inemactia, itech açia, itech pachivia, in thaviçotl: iquac in tlauellamaceoa, mocnomāti: auh intlacamo uellamaceoa, ca çan ynevjian conmocaujlia, qujmjtlacalhuja yn jtonal.

yn jquac, y, tla aca otlacat, njman caltiaia, qujtocamaca, qujxicvenquaqualia in pipiltotonti, intla oquichtli otlacat, ic qujnotza mjquiz, anoço iaotl, ceniaotl, necoc iaotl, chicoiaotl, iaomauitl, ic qujtocamaaia in Tezcatlipuca: injn mjtoaia, aiac vel qujcocoliz, aiac vel qujmjquitlanjz, intla aca qujmjquitlanj, qujmjquiztemach... çan iē jn mococolia onmjctuetzi.

Auh in iquac in catca ipan tonalli: in tlatlacoti, in tlatlacozitzinti, in teatexatitlan, temetlatitlan inhemjan: aiac vel qujmaoaia, aiac vel qujntenquanviaia, qujntlauelnotzaia, qujnqualancanotzaia, in tlacaoaque, in oqujmatque, ca muztla itonalpan iez in Tezcatlipuca: njman achto qujntomaia, quītequjlia, qujntlaxilia in quauhcozcatl, in coliuhquj, injc pieloia, inic ilpitinenca, injc amo cholozque: njman ic quimamoviaia, qujmaltiaia, cenca qujntlaçotlaia, qujnxoxocciomatia, vel qujnmavizmatia, ipampa iuh qujmatia, ca ixiptlaoa, ipatilloca, ytlaçopilhoan, mjtoa iuhqujn iquecholhoan, içaquantotooa, itlaçototoan in Tezcatlipuca: auh in tlacaoaque, vel qujnnemachtiaia, qujnmjqujznaoatiaia, qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia, qujntepitznaoatiaiaia, in impilhoan, in jntlazcaltilhoan, yn intlaoapaoalhoan: injc amo qujmaoazque qujncuecuenochichioazque, anoço qujnvitequjzque in tlacaoā:

1. Of this ceremony, the Spanish text reads: "*combidallan a los nños, y les dauan de comer: para q̄ supiessen el nombre, del que auia nacido: y le dauigauan a honor, por los calles.*" Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun* (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), p. 315, translates an explanatory passage from the *Academia de la Historia MS*: *ninoan ye ic quimocuexotia in oquichpiltzintzi in iquac omilhuia ninoan ye ic quimomaiaia in iuicuru ouitelmi[a] in dōña ytoca auh quimilhuia in aqo yuuel anoço nitoti auh ninoan ye ic tzatzitini quihcuua nimelhuia tzcuiuuru tzcuiuruquaquaqui i yuuel yquac quicuapalolia in itoca inic machi tlamati ic quimotlas — dona rufi or die Knaben. Nachdem sie geboren sind, gibt er ihnen die Namelchuua-Opfergabe und fragt (die Anwesenden), wie er heisst, und er nennt ihnen (die Namen) Yaotl oder Tlitoti (Krieger oder Kahlkopf). Und darnach fangen sie an zu schreien und sprechen: "Kommt her, Freunde, das Nabelschnuropfer Yaotls essen."* Dann reichen sie seinen Namen (*das Kinder*), *mit dem alle es nennen rufen.*

2. See *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 203*v*.

3. *Quenepitzmoaltiaiqui*: the term as appears in the Nahuatl column.

[1 [i.e., One Death.—Analyst]

And if any chid them, so it was said, thereby he brought upon and burdened and visited upon himself misery and affliction. It was as if pustulate sores had covered and been fastened on him; it seemed that, as a gift, it has been transferred to and left with him. At that time were given him his deserts, for he had brought upon himself great sin and wrong.[4] Furthermore, he had put on the wooden collar. Even so would he be, even so would he attain, as had become the lot of the beloved son of Tezcatlipoca. He would be struck and beaten; he would be pursued from one place to another. Never would he be settled on the land, nor let alone, nor found in repose. He would not rest. Thus was it said: never would the cooking pot rest filled; never would he work with security.

And as it had been said that he had brought upon himself great sin and wrong, so was looked upon with great terror that which he might do. In this way did Tezcatlipoca ridicule, make sport of, mock, and curse him. Perchance somewhere he would be ceremonially bathed; he would die in sacrifice as a bathed victim. And it was said: "He will die sacrificed as a war captive. They will cook him in an olla and eat him." Because at one time the wretched slave was beaten, [the god] transferred his sins upon him. So he feared this, for it befell one that although he became rich, swiftly misery came to him, poverty frayed him. [Of the god], thus was it said: "He only maketh sport of one. Of no one can he be a friend, to no one true." They said Tezcatlipoca enriched one, and thereby visited him with pain and affliction.

Then if someone out of his torment cursed him as a sodomite, it was no longer his time of pride when he said to him: "O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Thou wretched sodomite! Thou hast made fun of and mocked me!" So also did he speak if someone had let his captive flee: "Thou sodomite, O Titlacauan! O that this had likewise befallen thee! Be accursed, that thou hast given me a captive only to make sport of me!" When he said this, which was only his word of torment, what good was it? For so had he been mocked, it was said. Those whom this had befallen were the foolish, who disregarded, destroyed, and dissipated that which was their riches and merit.

auh intla aca oqujmaoac, iuh mjtoaia, iehoatl ica oalmjlacatzoa, conmomamaltia, ic movitequj in victli, in mecapalli, iubqujn tzotzoviztli itech oalmotlalia, itech oalmoçaloa, iubqujn manoçe mactli, itech oaltzopi, itech oalmocaoa, vncan conmocaujlia, in jmâceoal ic matoiavia, motepexiuja, oc iehoatl onmaquja in quauhcozcatl, oc iehoatl oniez, iubquj conjttaz, y, in iubquj ittitilo, itlaçopiltzin Tezcatlipuca, vitecoz, tzotzonaloz, avic chololtiloz, aquenman tlaltechpa choloz, aonjxcaoaloz, aquêman tlaliloz, aiac moceujz, iuh mjtoa: aquenman caxtenmanaloz, aic tlacaco quichioaz:

auh injc mjtoa: matoiavia, motepexivia, ynjc cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, in nel quichioaz, injc ica mocaiaoa Tezcatlipuca: injc quiquequeloa, injc ica maviltia, injc quitelchioa, aço cana altiloz, tlaaltilmjqujz: ioan mjtoaia teumjqujz, quipaoaciztque, quiquazque: ipampa ca ica omoquavitec, in tlacotzintli, ytech oqujcauh in jtlatlacol, injc qujmacacia, y, ca tepan mochioaia, in manel mocujltonoa, ca içiuhca ytech pachiujtiuh in icnoiotl: itech coatiuh in netolinjliztli: iehoatl injc mjtoa: çan teca maujltia, aiac vel icnjuh, aiac nellin qujlhuja Tezcatlipuca, tecujltonoa, ioan ic temotla in cococ, in teopouhquj,

ic vncan in aca qujcujlonaoa, itoneuhcacopa, aoc iatlamatian in quilhuja: Titlacaoane, cujlonpole, cujlontepole, otonmotlamachti, otonmoquequelo: no iuh qujtoaia, intla aca oqujchololti imal, cujlonpole, titlacaoane, ma ça njman iê iuh tienj, ma motelchioanj, in tinechmaca malli, ca çan notech otonmoquequelo: in iuh qujtoaia, y, ca ça itoneuhcatlatol, iê tle ça ne, ca ica oneujltiloc, mjtoa: iehoan in iuh inpan mochioaia, y, in aquj mamatcaoaque, in atle ipan tlatta, in oconpopouhque, yn jmjxco, yn jcpac oqujmanque, in jnnecujltonol, yn jnmâceoal ocatca, in ocacica, injc oteneoaloia, itoloia in tlalticpac oqujchtli, tlalticpac tiacaoan, ca mjtoa: in iuhquj

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4. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 210: *otimatiani, otimotepexiuj, quiquenequj, otimaxiilli, ihic omjxnextili*; in the Garibay ed., VI, 43, 37, this is translated as "Tú mismo te has dispuesto. Te dices por el que por su culpa cayó en algún gran crimen o peligro."

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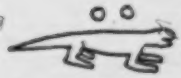
Those who attained [captives] were hence known as and called "earth warrior" or "earth chieftain." For, it was said, just as in battle the chieftain was a captor, just so he was rich and attained worldly goods. Hence was it said, "earth warrior," "earth chieftain."

And in this manner poor slaves achieved glory and honor. For it came to pass that if some poor slave, mocked, beaten, and made to suffer, still escaped, he became rich and wealthy. This same one bought slaves and prospered, governed, and was ruler of all. His kin were attentive of him. When this had happened, perhaps when all was abandoned and desolate, those who had been householders were perchance not there — had gone, — for perchance all was destroyed and wasted. But this same is he who set up the house; he set up the light and torch and brought fame to the slave-buyer's house, where the slave-owners were. Thus was it said: in truth the master of the earth, he through whom we live, causeth no one to lose by negligence; he hath wasted and destroyed the house of those who bought slaves, and to him who was only a poor slave, our lord gave honor and favor. Thus he honored him. Perhaps now often he entertained guests and gave them food. He assembled and gathered people together. He had them dance. He gave them gifts — this [slave] who thus appeared, who was born upon such a day sign, One Death. Hence it was called good and somewhat evil.

iaoc tiacauh tlamanj, no iuhquj in mocujltonoa, clçi in tlaltiçpacaiotl, ic moteneoa: tlalticpac oquichtli, tlalticpac tiacauh:

auh injc moteniotia, momaujzçotia, tlacotzitzinti, ca muchioaia, intla aca tlacotzintli, ica onecaiaoaloc, oujtecoc, otlamaceoaltiloc, oc ie qujça mocujltonoa, motlacamati, ie ne tecoa, ie nẽ onca, ie nẽ ivic mocemjtquj, ipan moceniacatia, ie nẽ quicemjtta in teoniolque, in jquac, y, aço ipan tlacacaoaltic, aço ipan cactiuetz, acaço caque, aço centlanque in chaneque ocatca, aço tlalpoliuh, aço tlaliooac, auh ie nẽ calli quimantica, ie nẽ tlaujlli ocotl quiquetztica, ie ne tlateniotitica, in jchan tecoanj in tlacaoaque ocatca, ic mjtoa: ca nel aiac quimoxiccavilia in tlalticpaque, in jpalnemoanj, ontlalioouc, otlalpopoliuh in jnchan ocatca tecoanjme auh ça tlacotzintli inic ontlateniotia moquimocnelili totecujo: injc quimaviçouia, y, aço ie quezquipa, tecoanotza, tetlaqualtia, tenechicoa, tecentlalia teitotia, tetlauhtia, iehoatl in ic neçi, in iuhquj tonalli ipan tlacaticaia, ce mjquiztli, injc mjtoa qualli, ioan achi amo qualli.



Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth still more of the nature and condition of women born on this sign.

Inic cempoalli on chicuey capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj inieliz, in jmjuhcatiliz cioa in jpan tlacatia in machiotl. 787X

And if it were a woman, similar were the deserts which visited her, and which were inflicted and laden upon her. She could do nothing. She could not twirl the spindle; she could not move nor raise the battens. She was incapable, witless, negligent, stupid, jeering, and impudent. She did nothing but talk in a loud voice; she went about snapping her chewing gum. She was of evil, inhuman tongue. Without effort, evil came from her lips.[1] Like flowing water she talked; her vile words swirled up like foam. Indeed, she was given to defaming people.

Auh intla cioatl, çan ie no iuhquj in jmaceoalti, in jtech eva, injc movitequj, in jtech motzotziona, atle vel ai, avel quitotia in malacatl, avel colinja, auel cacocuj in tzotzopaztli, macoloL, matetepo, ixquijqujmjl, ixtepetla, vetzqujztomac, ſquetzteana, çan ic nemjntlapittaoa, itzic quitlatlatzteatinemj, tentlaueliloc, ſtentlacatl, atle ovi in quicacamacaoa: iuhquin acontetemoa quitos, iuhquin quimonolotza itlaellatol, vel tepapacanj:

And she devoted herself only to sloth, negligence, and shiftlessness. She was a harlot, too lazy to do anything, careless, indolent, and a constant sleeper. And from what she did, they at once knew, and it was at once known, that her rearing was endangered and brought to shame, and that she delivered herself to servitude.

auh çan quixcauja in cujtlaçotlaoatinemj, tlatenmattinemj, moquêquêquetza, maaviltia, aiel itla aiz, cujtlatzcopic, cujtlaçotlac, cochmjmjl auh in ie oquichiuh, çan je quimati, çan ic imachitiloz, in movicanaquja, in movitilia, in oalmoxcalia, ic tevic, ic temecapal muchiuhtinemj:

And in just the same way she achieved nothing and was not diligent at the place of her owner, where the slave-owner was. She could not prepare drink nor use the grinding stone for others. She was just uselessly attractive[2] and vain.[3] Furthermore, she was a great lump of flesh with eyes,[4] of no value and unteachable.

auh çan no iui aontlaiecoa, aoqtlaeltia, in jtecuacan in vmpa tetlacauh, ivel atl, ivel metlatl contechiujlia, çan neian qualpul, qualtepul, ixtimalpul, iece çan molhuj tlacamjmjlli, atle inecoca, atle ic temachilo:

Wherefore they left her in the hands of the slave-dealers there at Ancapotzaico; she became a slave to be sold. And later she died, ceremonially bathed and sacrificed. This became her condemnation, her eternal fate.[5] She entered the place of the sacrificial stone.[6] For in truth her incorrigibility had been left to and had descended upon her. To no avail had

ic njman inmac concaoa in tlacanecujloque in vmpa azcaputzalco, tlacanecujlolli muchioa, auh çatepan tlaaltilmjquj, ieoatl ipopoliuhca, yceniaca muchioa, vncan tzomoccalaquj, ca nel iauelnenotzaliz in ococaujli, in ocontemovi, aocmo tlatollin tlatolli, avmpa oquittac in jacaliloca, çan jpan otlamelauh in iuhquj itoual, in jpan tlacat: [567]

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"sabia de la buena, la mala palabra."*

2. *Meixner:* opaque.

3. *Seler-Eduard:* cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xii, fol. 192 (*Anderson*), and Sahagún (*Carlbery ed.*), VI, 41, 58: *Tiene buena cara: tiene buenos ojos.—Este refrán se dice de las personas que en su gesto y disposición parecen que son para mandar, y no son para nada en la verdad, o son para gente de bajo se dice por ella de mujer lozana, cara glorioso.*"

4. Sahagún, "Hispanicized text version," p. 215, gloss No. 12 (*Anderson-Dibble*): *"lo que tenian pedaço de carne con dos ojos."*

5. *Yancuic* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

6. *Tzontemoaloya:* we have interpreted *tzontemoa* as *tzontemoloa*; cf. corresponding Spanish text: *"iba corrija a morir en el infierno, de las pedradas."*